India's National Security Policy and Strategy: A Study of Capabilities and Limitations

(Post Nuclear Test 1998)

A

Synopsis

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Supervisor

Prof. Poornima Jain
(Dept. of Sociology and Political Science)
(Faculty of Social Science)

Researcher

Mahima Jindal

Head

Prof. Poornima Jain
(Dept. of Sociology and Political Science)
(Faculty of Social Science)

Dean

Prof. Kamaljeet Sandhu
(Faculty of Social Sciences)

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY & POLITICAL SCIENCE

DAYALBAGH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE (DEEMED UNIVERSITY)

DAYALBAGH, AGRA

INTRODUCTION

India's national security has been the major concern of policy makers since India gained independence in the year 1947.After the India-China war of 1962, India got more concerned about its security in international scenario. Providing military and economic security to its people is necessary for a country to secure a safe internal as well as external environment. India's geostrategic location poses a major threat to its security as well as to its economic stability. "Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it reasonably includes substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the "security" level (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures including the use of force) and becomes part of everyday uncertainties of life is one of the difficulties of the concept,'' (Buzan, 1991). Economic security of a country works as the pillar of national security because economically self-reliant country can stand strong in the international environment. After the independence Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru highlighted the importance of the economic policies for India's foreign policy. He defined his views in the following words, "Talking about foreign policies, the House must remember that these are not just empty struggles on a chess board. Behind them lie all manner of things. Ultimately foreign policy is the outcome of the economic policy, and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping. It is well for us to say that we stand for peace and freedom and yet that does not convey much to anybody, except a pious hope… and every country is prepared to say the same thing,whether it means it or not.''(Baru, 1999).The responsibility of providing security to every part of India lies in the Ministry of Defense of Government of India. Article 53(2) of Indian constitution provides that the supreme command of the armed forces will be vested in the president of India, who can use it only according to the law (Ministry of Defense). The Ministry of Defense provides guidelines as well as defense equipments to the country's armed forces to work for the protection of India's national security. The new definition of security is not restricted to the hard power and diplomacy only but now it is being defined as the economic security also, which

allows a country to have security of income resources to increase the standard of living of its people and to secure their future also. Initially national security emerged in relation to a category of traditional concerns, which meant that military means to protect country's borders- both land and sea, as well as any important interests related to economy and access to resources. In the global environment of increased economic insecurity and interdependence, the pursuit of economic security is seen as the key aspect of delivering national security. India, like other countries of the world is facing a variety of threats from climate change also such as the droughts, heat waves and storms. These natural disasters directly affect the economic stability of the country. These global environmental challenges need to be resolved by collective efforts of the countries. Economic security helps in the attainment of the economic and political growth and stability in the country to provide a secure future to its citizens. The great philosopher Karl Marx saw economy as the tool for bringing political change. The economic conditions determine the socio-political structure of the state. "Economic performance can determine military power: the stronger the economy, the greater the military power and the weaker the economy, the weaker the military power'' (Ferguson, 2019). Therefore, the amount of the resources of a state and its economic developments provide a solid foundation for defense planning and international relations. Uprising economic conditions of India will provide better opportunities both in internal and external security environment. In the year 1974, India conducted its first nuclear test, whose main purpose was to make the world aware that now India too has the scientific knowledge of nuclear power, but again in the year 1998, India conducted a fresh series of nuclear tests and formally declared its status as a nuclear weapon power under the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's government. India's pursuit of nuclear weapons was a necessary step to fight against the security threats from China and Pakistan. In the year 1964 China inaugurated its first nuclear test and Pakistan in 1998 just after the India conducted its nuclear tests. This situation made the security concerns more alarming for India because during 1960s India failed to secure a nuclear security guarantee from United States and Britain that is why it was necessary for India to enter the nuclear club (Kampani, 2018).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of security has always been an important issue of international politics. The security of the state is generally concerned with military security, but for the last two decades, security is also related to other aspects like food security, human security, security from terrorism, economic security etc.In the current scenario,the emphasis has been laid down on the security of the state in both traditional and non-traditional defense sectors. Every state prepares some kind of strategies to deal with world for its security. These strategies include the approaches of "Balance of Power'' and "Collective Security''. In international environment statestry to maximize their powers and want to takeover other states to fulfill their self interests but the 'Balance of Power' approach establishes the balance among the states and suggest them to not to make excessive use of their power and maintain international peace and stability. On the other hand 'the Collective Security' approach was arrived as the substitute for balance of power approach. Collective security is an approach which sees national security as a side benefit of world order to be managed by some superior authority. It rejects the notion that alliances and neutrality can work together, and substitute the idea that ''an attack against one is an attack against all'' (Johari, 2014). Thus, the states put their collective efforts as an organization for the security of states at international level as well as at domestic level. There are two other different approaches also to security in international relations: one is the normative approach and the other is the Instrumental approach. The normative view of security predicts upon the values, ideas and identities in international relations. This approach believes that the security should be regarded as fundamentally normative because without it human life is reduced to basic struggle for survival. This approach believes that the problems of security dilemmas in international structure can be solved trough values and morality in a peaceful manner. But there is another different view of security approach named as instrumentalism, which believes that security policies should be dealt with neo-realistic approach. It considers that there is no place for morality in international politics because the primary concern of states is to fulfill their own interests. Hence it is believed that there is a morality dilemma in international politics (Preece, 2011). When states start their policy making process, their first priority is given to the security of the states. Security means that, the states feel safe from all kinds of threats. "The all consuming nature of the cold war agenda seemed to demand the security is

understand by the main contestants very much in way that were consistent with the realistic approach to international relations'' (Bajpai and Pant, 2013). Security is a major focus point of the 'Realist' theory of the international relations. This theory views the world from a realistic and behavioral point of view. This theory is related with two major concepts of international relations, 'Security' and 'Power'. For a nation, security is the principle of prime interest and power is the major source for carrying out this principle. Power and security can be called as the two sides of the same coin. "Security is a condition in which states consider that there is no danger of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own development and progress'' (United Nations Report 1987). For the Realist thinkers, the international situation is a chaotic situation and it lacks central authority to control the behavior of nations to establish peace. The absence of such authority creates a situation of 'Security Dilemma' (Herz, 1950). In this context according to the classical realists structural anarchy or the absence of central authority to settle disputes is the essential feature of the contemporary system and it gives rise to security dilemma. Realists also argue that states maximize their power for their security related interests. Further, the tradition of Realism was carried forward by thinkers like Niccole Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes who believed that the states maximize their power for their security and it is also acceptable if the states become aggressive. Machiavelli, a prominent thinker of realist theory has analyzed the security in his very famous book "The Prince'' (1532). He says that states do any kind of exercise for security and even they decide to walk out of the path of morality. The British Realist thinker E. H. Carr in his book "Twenty Years Crises'' (1939), argued that the state is a major factor in international politics. The first responsibility of the state is to fulfill the interests of the state, and to continuously expand its army, therefore, he also supports the offensive actions as J. J. Mersheimer did this in his book, "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics'' (2001). International system is anarchic, states inherently pose some offensive military capability which gives them the wherewithal to hurt and possibly destroy each other and the most basic motives of states is survival' (Mersheimer, 2001). China is the current example of offensive realism who wants to expand its military power to establish its hegemony in the world. As Kirshner quoted in his article that "China is rising offensively'' (kirshner, 2010).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Khurana (2008), in his article describes India's defense cooperation with France, Russia, Japan, United States, Israel and other countries. One of the main objectives of India is to get defense cooperation globally in terms of national security and for this many countries have also expressed a desire to provide latest defense technology to India. The author considered Australia to be an important force for India's security. Australia lies to the south of the Indian Ocean which may help India achieve maritime security. Despite China being a matter of concern for India's security,the author has highlighted defense cooperation between China and India.Along with these countries,the author has also described defense cooperation with other countries as Germany, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan, Russia, and Britain.

Vergeron (2015), in his article presented describes the cooperation between India and the European Union during the tenure of the current prime minister of India, Narendra Modi. Regarding India's defense capability, the author says that India is the most importing country in the world. The author says that India still faces many difficulties for its security in which the lack of proper training ofsoldiers, the use of old defense equipment, the lack of possible budget are responsible. The author has clarified that Russia is a traditional ally of India,but currently India's defense cooperation is much larger than the United States with Russia.

Dutta (2016), in the article presented, has described the challenges and problems of manufacturing of defense equipments in his own country, the kind of defense equipments that are required for India's security. The importance and the difficulties of making modern defense equipment indigenously by 'MAKE IN INDIA' are shown in the article presented. The author believes that Make in India is an important step to make India self-reliant.

Campose (2017), has highlighted the importance of modernizing the Indian army. The author believes that the increasing proximity of two traditional rivals of India, China and Pakistan has made the subject of defense modernization more serious for India in the future. Therefore, the author has emphasized the fact that by increasing the defense budget, India will be able to import the latest technology from abroad for defense modernization.

Deb (2017), has described the midrange training of Israel and India by which military officers of both the countries get military training together. Both countries are threatened by terrorism and both countries have decided to work together to avoid terrorist threats. The author has mainly described the multi-dimensional approach between Israel and India that India and Israel have received cooperation for each other on many aspects of security which will continue in future also.

Menon (2017), has described India's external security challenges. The author says that the economic and political interests of states are also changing in the current changing in the circumstances. China's expansionist policy and Pakistan supported terrorism has become major challenges for other countries along with India. Therefore, the author considered international cooperation to be an important factor in solving these problems.

Ogden (2017), has described the India's national security at the both internal and external level. To encompass the threats of national security India should get freedom from all kinds of threats. Author says that it is mandatory for a country's leaders to develop the safe environment for the national security.

Sawant (2017), has highlighted the India's current security challenges. In the view of the increasing threats to India's security, it is necessary to prepare a very strong and such a defense policy through which all the important weapons related to defense can be made available. The author has highlighted the importance of security strategies for India to get the international cooperation for the supply of weapons.

Basu (2018), sees the democracy as the soul of the development. Development is not only about the availability of various products in the market but it is about the power of purchasing these products of citizens.It is a primary duty of any state to provide basic necessities to its people such as education, health care, employment etc. Development of the basic necessities and infrastructure provides the economic stability and security to a nation.

Brewster (2018), has examined the India's growing security sphere beyond the South Asia. Author has considered the development of India's security sphere which includes the India's strategic ambitions, material capabilities and ideology. Author says that by liberalizing its economy in 1991, India attained a rapid economic growth. Economic factors such as poverty, inequality and non-

economic factors as ensuring access to resources, ideology, Diaspora, migration etc. both affect the external and economic security of India and it is needed to ensure these security concerns to become super power.

Budaniya (2018), has described the importance of the nation's defense policy for national security. Given the external threats, India will have to develop its military capability to strengthen its defense policy. India is engaged in efforts to formulate its defense policy, which will increase opportunities for India's current security and will also prove beneficial for the future.

Gopal(2018), has focused on the relationship between Israel and India from the time of the independence of the both countries in which the author has described with special reference to defense cooperation between two countries. Bilateral relation between India and Israel began in 1992 during P.V. Narshimha Rao's tenure as Prime Minister, when India's foreign secretary JN Dixit announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel. Presently to establish defense cooperation between the two countries, new dimensions have been established for the time being in the visits.

Joshi (2018), has defined the modernization of India's Land power, Air power and Sea power.Modernization of India's Military is necessary for the region power projection of its defense capabilities to counter the threats from China and Pakistan. Author has defined defense modernization as the replacement of older military platforms with newer platforms. Author has given the three core areas of modernization–capabilities, procurement and higher defense management, acquiring these three areas can strengthen the India's Military modernization.

Kumar (2018), has described global political economy as one of the emerging issue of the modern political system of international relations. The author has provided the deep in depth analysis of the evaluation of the global political economy. Global political economy analysis the principles which are important for regulating the global market because global market provides a stage to the countries for their economic development. The author says that financial crises in a state increases the economic inequality at international level among states but the emergence of global economic politics will be helpful in fulfilling the gap between the states.

Kumar (2018), has described the role of the IMF, WORLD BANK, WTO, TNCS in bringing the change in the international politics. The author clarifies that unlike China and USA, India is lagging

behind in maintaining its economic, internal and external security.But with the cooperation of the international organizations and other states, India can work progressively in this regard and can counter various security challenges. Thus India plays a significant role in the global governance in accordance with the international institutions.

Mishra (2018), has focused on non-military security issues of the present time such as population growth, ethnic conflict, terrorism, global warming, human rights, poverty, hunger, etc. The author explains that military security is still important but today academicians and scientists are focusing more on non military issues. Today human security is a universal concern and it is a people centric approach. Human security is directly related to the economic security because by using the human capital in right way the more economy can be generated. Therefore, the author concludes that human security is a major concern in present era.

Mullen (2018), in his research papers has highlighted the rising importance of the economic security in the modern era. Since the election of the Indian prime minister Narendra Modi, the definition of security is not restricted to the hard power and diplomacy only but now it is being defined as economic security also which allows a country to have security of income resources to increase the standard of living of its people and secure their future .The author defines the external and internal dimensions of the economic security in India. Author says that now Indian's national security is more dependent on internal and external economic security.

Pardesi (2018), has analyzed the India's conventional military challenges from China and Pakistan. The author has described these challenges from the dimensions of land and adding a new dimension to it is from naval strategy in Indian Ocean Region where China is a major threat to Indian defense and economy.The author has presented a detailed description of India's security. India needs to modernize its military power to tackle Pakistan's proxy warfare including non-state actors under the shadow of nuclear weapons. China and Pakistan's increasing friendship is a new challengeto India in its borders and in Indian Ocean Region as well. India must seek to organize strategies in the diplomatic and political realms.

Ganguly (2018), in his article presented has emphasized on the India's national security policies since 1947. He has presented a neo-classical realist account of India's national security policy. Author

explains that the anarchy in international system clearly provides states with the security threats. The author has clarified that the domestic institutions, external forces and other governance related agencies play the major role in explaining and maintaining the national security. Author has mainly discussed the India's first Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru's idealistic foreign policy and failures and success of his pursue of national security. Author concludes that India is formulating its national security policies in accordance with the changing political scenario.

Pant and Bommakanti (2019), has highlighted the growing challenges of India's national security and the need for the modernization of India's defense forces. Authors describe that India shares 'The Line of Control' (LoC) with Pakistan and 'Line of Actual Control' (LAC) with China, both of these boundaries have been remained as the matter of serious concern for India's national security. India has strengthens her military ties with United States, France, and Israel to acquire strong defense power. India needs to establish proper management for her defense industry in order to tackle the conventional and modern military security challenges.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

India is an emerging super power of the world. Establishment of peace and security are the primary concerns for a country to fulfill the desire to become a great power in the international community. The concept of national security is multi-dimensional which is relatedto socio-political, military, economic and cultural aspects.In the changing scenario of international politics the dimensions of national security are shifting more towards the non-military aspects. The rise of China and its intense steps taken towards the military modernization in the Indian Ocean Region and Pakistan supported terrorist activities have made India to think more seriously about her security. A strong defense strategy provides a base for the security which can be seen in the recent terrorist attacks in Kashmir that how the Indian Air Force retaliated with air strikes inside the Pakistani territories. This has reset the new nuclear policy for India that India will not tolerate the any kind of unfavorable activities from Pakistan and China. The expansion of his dominance in the Indian Ocean by China shows the need for defense cooperation for India. The primary objective of our maritime security strategy is to prevent conflicts against India. India has a "No First Use'' policy which means that India will not use the weaponry against any country at first, rather India will make efforts to resolve the problems through

the use of soft power. Presently, Pakistan's increasing proximity with China and Russia is creating more security crisis for India's security. Hence, there is the need to reconstruct India's national security policies and strategies.

OBJECTIVES

1. To study the operating principles of India's national security policy

2. To evaluate the challenges of India's national security policy and strategy

3. To study the role of defense and economic cooperation for India's national security strategy

4. To analyze the scope for improvements in India's national security policy

HYPOTHESIS

1. India has the principle of 'No First Use' for her security policy

2. China and Pakistan pose the major threats to India's national security

3. Defense and economic cooperation are necessary for India's security policy

4. There is no scope for improvements in India's national security policy

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research design– The study will use the Descriptive, Explanatory and Exploratory research design.

Sampling- Purposive sampling will be used for collecting primary data

Sources of data collection – Data will be collected from primary and secondary sources.

Primary data- Structured interview schedule will be constructed to collect data.

Secondary data-The relevant data will be collected from government policy documents, Books, Journals, research papers, authentic internet websites and other published and unpublished documents.

Tools of data collection- Structured interview schedule will be constructed to collect data from Diplomats, Army Personnel, Economists, and Persons in Governance

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The geographical location of India, despite being, strong poses a threat to its security. India is always under threat from its neighboring states, which requires India to increase its military forces for its

border security. Currently the security Challenges of India are increasing continuously and to face these problems, India needs to strengthen its military forces as well as to ensure its economic security. This proposed study is an attempt to examine the India's national security challenges. Through this research work, detailed information will be made available to the readers regarding the defense policies of the government, international defense relations and economic security. The study will also be significantly useful for those researchers, academicians, and students who are particularly interested in the studies of India's national security policies.

CHAPERIZATION

1. Introduction

2. India's National Security Policy

3. Challenges to India's National Security

4. Role of Defense and Economic cooperation in India's National Security

5. India's National Security Policy: Scope for Improvements

6. Conclusion and Suggestions

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